

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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R 011616Z DEC 76

FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8614

AMEMBASSY BERN

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMEMBASSY VALLETTA

USMISSION USBERLIN

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

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AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
USMISSION USNATO BRUSSELS

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E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR CSCE EI
SUBJECT: CONSULTATION WITH NEUTRALS ON CSCE

REF: STATE 283196

SUMMARY: THE IRISH PREDICT THAT THE SUBSTANCE OF BELGRADE WILL BE A CLASH BETWEEN THE EASTERN "QUANTITATIVE" APPROACH AND THE WESTERN "QUALITATIVE" APPROACH. SO FAR THE IRISH FEEL THEY ARE GETTING A BAD DEAL ON INFORMATION. IN GENERAL THE IRISH GO ALONG WITH THEIR EC PARTNERS, WHO HAVE MORE DIRECT CONTACTS WITH THE EAST. IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF THE USG COULD PROVIDE A USEFUL SUMMARY OF THE LATEST FACTS AND FIGURES OF CSCE IMPLEMENTATION TO THE GOI BEFORE THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S TRIP TO MOSCOW DECEMBER 14. (SEE PARA 8). END SUMMARY.

1. WE PRESENTED POINTS IN REFTEL TO MFA COUNSELOR MACKERNAN ON NOVEMBER 19, BUT HE DECLINED TO COMMENT AT THE TIME BECAUSE HE HAD JUST RETURNED TO THE JOB AFTER TWO MONTHS OF SICK LEAVE. MACKERNAN IS THE SOLE IRISH EXPERT ON CSCE, THOUGH FIRST SECRETARY SHARKEY HAS BEEN COVERING DURING MACKERNAN'S ILLNESS. THE POLITICAL OFFICER HAD A SESSION WITH MACKERNAN AND SHARKEY NOVEMBER 30 AFTER THEY HAD HAD A CHANCE TO STUDY OUR AIDE-MEMOIRE CONSISTING OF PARA 2 OF REFTEL. THEIR COMMENTS ON VARIOUS CSCE ASPECTS ARE BELOW.

2. BELGRADE MEETINGS - WE DISCUSSED THE EC "PRACTICAL PROBLEMS" PAPER (USNATO 6496) WHICH SHARKEY SAID WAS, IN HIS OPINION, A PROVISIONAL PAPER WHICH WILL BE FLESHED OUT IN SUBSEQUENT EC-9 CSCE EXPERTS MEETINGS. THE IRISH WILL GO ALONG WITH THE EC CONSENSUS ON THE BELGRADE MEETING AND HAVE NO OBJECTIONS TO THE

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APPROACH OUTLINED IN THE PAPER. MACKERNAN STRESSED THAT THE IRISH FORESEE A CLASH AT BELGRADE BETWEEN THE EASTERN "QUANTITATIVE" APPROACH (E.G. STATISTICS ON NUMBERS OF TRANSLATIONS OF WESTERN DOCUMENTS) AND THE WESTERN "QUALITATIVE" APPROACH (E.G. CENSORSHIP OF THOSE TRANSLATED DOCUMENTS). MACKERNAN FURTHER SAID THAT HE AND OTHERS IN THE EC ARE FRANKLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE NEW U.S. ADMINISTRATION'S APPROACH TO CSCE,

AND ITS EFFECT ON BELGRADE. HE SAID THAT HE HAD
DETECTED THAT THE NEW ADMINISTRATION VIEWS DETENTE AND
CSCE AS A "ONE-WAY STREET", AND HE WANTED TO
EMPHASIZE THAT IN HIS VIEW THE WEST GOT MUCH MORE OUT
OF CSCE THAN THE EAST, AND THAT THE IMPLEMENTATION
PHASE COULD ONLY BE A NO-LOSS EXERCISE FOR WESTERN
INTERESTS.

3. INFORMATION - THE IRISH AGREE THAT THERE HAS BEEN
NO PERCEPTIBLE CHANGE IN THIS AREA. MACKERNAN AGAIN
MENTIONED THE QUANTITATIVE APPROACH OF THE SOVIETS
AND SUGGESTED THAT WE MUST PREPARE GOOD DEFENSES
AGAINST THIS FOR BELGRADE. HE SAID THAT THE IRISH
EXPERIENCE MIGHT BE MARGINALLY USEFUL. SINCE THE
APPEARANCE OF A SOVIET EMBASSY IN DUBLIN ONLY THREE
YEARS AGO THERE HAS BEEN A RATHER COPIOUS AMOUNT OF
SOVIET FILMS, BOOKS, AND PAMPHLETS AVAILABLE IN
IRELAND. THE FACT THAT THIS AVAILABLE INFORMATION
MATERIAL HAS HAD NO POPULAR APPEAL, AND VERY LITTLE
CIRCULATION, ONLY RELATES TO ITS LACK OF QUALITY.
THERE ARE NO RESTRICTIONS. HE SAID THAT HE HAD NO
DOCUMENTATION BUT BELIEVED THAT THE AVAILABILITY IN
THE USSR OF THE MANY IRISH WRITERS - YEATS, O'CASEY,
SHAW, JOYCE, ETC. - IS STRICTLY LIMITED AND CENSORED.

4. RADIO BROADCASTING - THE IRISH HAVE NO DIRECT
INTEREST IN THIS ASPECT OF CSCE. SHARKEY POINTED OUT
THAT ON THIS POINT THE FINAL ACT WAS PARTICULARLY
AMBIGUOUS, AND SUGGESTED THAT WE SHOULD NOT MAKE
IT A BIG ISSUE AT BELGRADE.

5. FAMILY REUNIFICATION - MACKERNAN SAID THAT THE
IRISH HAVE HAD ONLY TWO CASES SINCE HELSINKI, BOTH
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SETTLED SATISFACTORILY, BUT THAT THE IRISH RECOGNIZE
THE PROBLEM FOR OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES. HIS
IMPRESSION IS THAT THE GERMANS ARE CURRENTLY PLEASED
WITH THE PROGRESS IN THIS AREA AND THAT THE GENERAL
OPINION IN THE EC IS TO BRING UP THE POINT WITH
EMPHASIS AT BELGRADE BUT NOT TO MAKE A BIG ISSUE
OF IT. "KEEP IT ON THE PLATE SO THEY WILL NOT
BACKSLIDE" WAS SHARKEY'S MIXED-METAPHOR COMMENT.

6. BILATERAL IMPLEMENTATION ARRANGEMENTS - THE IRISH
HAVE HAD NO APPROACHES FROM HUNGARY OR CZECHOSLOVAKIA
OR ANY OTHER EE COUNTRY, BUT ARE WELL INFORMED ON THE
APPROACHES FROM THEIR EC PARTNERS. IN GENERAL THE
IRISH SUPPORT THE IDEA THAT THE FINAL ACT CALLS
FOR UNILATERAL IMPLEMENTATION, BUT MACKERNAN SAID THAT

THE IRISH DO NOT OBJECT IN PRINCIPLE TO THE CZECH
PROPOSAL FOR PERIODIC BILATERAL MEETINGS.

7. RE PARA 4 OF REFTEL, WHICH REFERS TO THE FIRST
VISIT OF THE IRISH FOREIGN MINISTER TO THE USSR SINCE
ESTABLISHING DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS (DECEMBER 14-20).
IN THE BEGINNING OF THE DISCUSSION MACKERNAN WAS
RETICENT ABOUT MAKING ANY STRONG POINTS ABOUT BASKET III
DURING THE MOSCOW VISIT, BUT AFTER SOME TALK HE AGREED
THAT THE IRISH HAVE NOTHING TO LOSE BY MAKING A STRONG
CSCE PRESENTATION, WHICH HE AGREED WOULD BE A POPULAR
GESTURE TO LOCAL PUBLIC OPINION. SHARKEY THEN
COMMENTED THAT - SINCE IRELAND HAS VIRTUALLY NO
BILATERAL ISSUES WITH THE USSR VIS-A-VIS ANY OF THE
BASKETS OF CSCE, COULD WE PROVIDE THE IRISH WITH SOME
DOCUMENTATION ON GENERAL POINTS RE INFORMATION,
REUNIFICATION, RELIGIOUS FREEDOM, ETC., WHICH COULD
BE BROUGHT UP IN THE IRISH-SOVIETS TALKS. WE THEN
MENTIONED THE LATEST NATO INFORMATION PASSED TO THE
IRISH (STATE 285505). SHARKEY SAID THAT THIS INFORMA-
TION WAS GREATLY APPRECIATED AND VERY HELPFUL, BUT THAT
UNFORTUNATELY THE VOLUME WAS SIMPLY INDIGESTIBLE IN THE
TIME AVAILABLE BEFORE THE MOSCOW VISIT. THE POLITICAL
SECTION OF THE IRISH MFA IS CURRENTLY FUNCTIONING WITH
SEVEN EFFECTIVE OFFICERS TO HANDLE ALL AFFAIRS. HE SAID
THAT IT WOULD BE USEFUL IF WE COULD PROVIDE THEM WITH
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A SUMMARY OF USEFUL POINTS ON BASKET III WITH DOCUMENTATION.

8. ACTION REQUESTED: IF THE DEPARTMENT OR USNATO HAS
A SHORT SUMMARY OF THE LATEST FACTS AND FIGURES ON
IMPLEMENTATION, WE REQUEST THAT IT BE SENT TO US FOR
PASSING ON TO THE IRISH. WE REALIZE IRELAND'S VOICE IN
CSCE IS SMALL, BUT IT HAS BEEN RECEIVING CONSIDERABLE
ATTENTION FROM THE SOVIETS OF LATE, PROBABLY BECAUSE OF
ITS ODD-MAN-OUT-IN-EUROPE POSITION, I.E., THE ONLY NON-
NATO MEMBER OF THE EC, AND A "NEUTRAL" WHICH DOES
NOT CAUCUS WITH THE OTHER NEUTRALS. RENDAHL

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